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ABSTRACT

This document is one of a series that represents specific moments in history from which students focus on the meanings of landmark events. Students become aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. By analyzing primary sources, students learn how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation, and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part. This unit explores Abraham Lincoln's attitudes and actions regarding slavery, its abolition, and the use of African American troops during the Civil War. The unit places Lincoln's words and deeds amid the political realities of the day and in the context of the time in which he lived. Contemporary voices of both support and opposition draw attention to public reaction to Lincoln's policies. The unit consists of teacher background materials, lesson plans, and accompanying student resources. Unit objectives include: (1) to interpret documents in their historical context; (2) to understand the significance of the debate over the abolition of slavery and the use of African American troops; (3) to examine the historical context of emancipation; and (4) to explore the political motivation that influenced Lincoln's stance on slavery. Five lesson plans and one extension lesson are included: (1) Lincoln's early views on slavery; (2) the Lincoln-Douglas Debates; (3) evolution of an anti-slavery policy; (4) emancipation and African American troops; (5) contemporary views of Lincoln; and artists' views of the Emancipation Proclamation. Contains 13 references. (DK)

ED 376 091

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

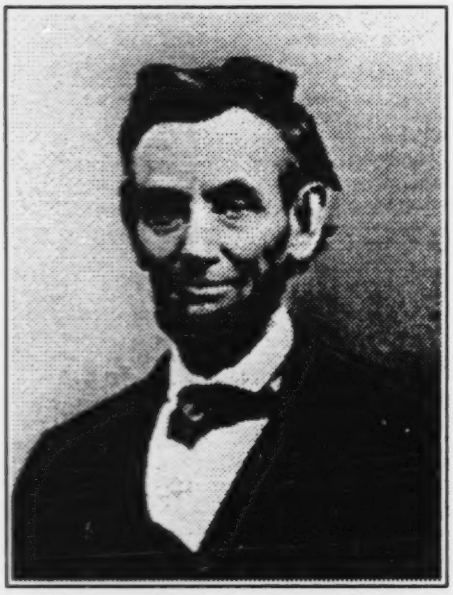
AND

SLAVERY

A UNIT OF STUDY FOR GRADES 8-12

By Kirk Ankeney

David Vigilante



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NATIONAL CENTER FOR HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS
A Cooperative Research Program of the
University of California, Los Angeles
and the National Endowment for the Humanities

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We also acknowledge the continuing contributions of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which established the National Center for History in the Schools in March 1988 and has generously supported this activity.

For information on additional teaching units and other resources from the Center, please write:

National Center for History in the Schools
University of California, Los Angeles
10880 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 760
Los Angeles, CA 90024

APPROACH AND RATIONALE

By Linda Symcox

The National Center for History in the Schools has developed the following collection of lessons for teaching **Lincoln and Slavery**. Our units are the fruit of a year-long collaboration between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. They represent specific **"dramatic moments"** in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative.

In our approach, the continuing narrative provides the context in which the dramatic moment is situated. By studying a crucial turning-point in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Our dramatic moments are based on **primary sources**, taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers, and literature from the period under study. As you know, a primary source is a **first-hand** account of any event in history. For example, the telecast or the script of a speech would be a primary source. A secondary source is a **second-hand** account of an event. This would be, for example, the newspaper account of the speech the next day or a newscaster's report about the speech. All historical accounts, such as textbooks, are by their very nature secondary sources. What

we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to re-create for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: 1) **Teacher Background Materials** and 2) **Lesson Plans** with **Student Resources**. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. We have chosen to pitch the various lessons on different grade levels and they can usually be adapted to a slightly higher or lower level.

The **Teacher Background** section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific **Dramatic Moment** to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The **Lesson Plans** include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. These resources consist of primary source documents, any handouts or student background materials, and in many cases, a bibliography for the unit.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates, but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories, and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction, rather than rote memorization.

"The Last Best Hope of Earth"

On December 1, 1862, with the Nation embroiled in its greatest challenge ever—the Civil War—President Abraham Lincoln delivered his annual message to Congress. That speech, to the Senators and the Representatives of the states which remained in the Union, concluded with the following words:

> ***. . . The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.***
>
> ***Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here—hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth. . . .***
>
> *(Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings. Edited by Don E. Fehrenbacher. New York: Library of America, 1989, vol. 2, p. 415. Hereinafter cited Library of America.)*

The "fiery trial" to which Lincoln referred—and through which he passed with considerable honor—was, of course, the Civil War. Students of history know the result: Not only was the Union saved but a new beginning for what Lincoln termed the "Last best hope of earth" emerged from the cataclysm, one which had shed the institution of slavery. How, why, and when did Lincoln's war aims—which began with the preservation of the Union—come to include the freeing of enslaved Americans? What are the historical connections between Abraham Lincoln's views about slavery and the evolution of policies which represented our nation's initial steps toward a more honorable, if not wholly egalitarian, vision for the people of the United States of America?

I. UNIT OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE

Abraham Lincoln, "The Great Emancipator" in historical folklore, was a complex individual with political savvy. Historical interpretations of Lincoln and his stand on the issue of slavery vary. Some have argued that Lincoln considered slavery as a moral issue and was committed to its extinction, while others argue that Lincoln was the embodiment of American racism. A student of history can find a wide spectrum of opinions between these two poles.

Through the use of primary sources students will discover Abraham Lincoln's attitudes and actions regarding slavery, its abolition, and the use of African American troops during the Civil War. Students encounter Lincoln's words and deeds amid the political realities of the day and in the context of the time in which he lived. Contemporary voices of both support and opposition draw attention to public reaction to Lincoln's policies. Students are asked to grapple with questions such as: How, when, and why did the war to preserve the Union come to include the abolition of slavery? Was the Emancipation Proclamation the climax of a series of measures designed to end slavery or was it a break from previous policy? What were the factors behind Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and to confirm "the promise" with a call for ratification of the 13th Amendment? What impact did public opinion have on Lincoln's decision regarding the abolition of slavery and the use of African American troops in combat?

II. UNIT CONTEXT

This unit may be used as a "spot light" to focus on the evolution of Lincoln's stance on slavery and his commitment

to abolition. Specific lessons may also be used at different time during the chronological study of events leading to the Civil War and the Lincoln presidency. Lessons I and II may be incorporated in the study of the sectional crisis leading to the war while the remaining lessons are appropriate during a study of the Lincoln presidency. The lessons are intended as an inquiry into the development and implementation of Lincoln's policy of emancipation.

III. UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. To interpret documents in their historical context.

2. To understand the significance of the debate over the abolition of slavery and the use of African American troops.

3. To examine the historical context of emancipation.

4. To explore the political motivation that influenced Lincoln's stance on slavery.

IV. INTRODUCTION

Abraham Lincoln was a complex, self-made man. Born in poverty near Hodgenville, Kentucky in 1809, he moved to Indiana with his family in 1810 and settled in Illinois fourteen years later. He was elected a captain in the Illinois militia during the Black Hawk War of 1832 and served in the state legislature from 1834 to 1841. Temporarily retiring from politics, he became a successful Illinois lawyer. Lincoln was a staunch supporter of Henry Clay and an active member of the Whig Party of Illinois. In 1846 he was elected to the House of Representatives where he voiced his opposition to the war with Mexico. After one term in

the House, he abandoned politics and returned to his law practice in Springfield. Lincoln's opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act rekindled his interest in politics and he made an unsuccessful bid for the United States Senate in 1855. He joined the newly formed Republican Party and was recognized as one of its leaders in Illinois.

In 1858 he challenged Democrat Stephen Douglas for the Senate. His life-long ambition was to serve in the United States Senate, where great men debated the paramount issues of the day. In seven three-hour debates across the state, Lincoln relentlessly confronted Douglas only to have the State assembly appoint his opponent to the Senate. Two years later, in a four-way race for the presidency, Lincoln was elected with slightly under 40% of the popular vote. As president, he faced the greatest constitutional challenge in the nation's history as eleven states seceded from the union. The fortunes of the war weighed on his shoulders as Union forces failed to achieve rapid victory. Lincoln's search for a competent military leader became legendary as he dismissed general after general, finally placing confidence in U. S. Grant. In 1864, as he prepared to run for re-election, he faced dissension within his own party and even the rumored nomination of his Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase. On August 23, 1864, less than three months before the presidential election, Lincoln wrote, "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected." Yet, decisive turns in the Union military objectives helped ensure his victory in the presidential election of November 1864. By inauguration day, March 4, 1865, the war was virtually over. On April 9, Confederate Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse. On Friday evening, April 14, the Lincolns attended a performance of "Our American Cousin" at Ford's Theater. There, John Wilkes Booth fired the fatal

shot, and with the assassin's bullet, the Lincoln legend began.

V. LESSON PLANS

Lesson One: Lincoln's Early Views on Slavery

Lesson Two: The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

Lesson Three: Evolution of an Anti-slavery Policy

Lesson Four: Emancipation and African American Troops

Lesson Five: Contemporary Views of Lincoln

Extension Lesson: Artists' Views of the Emancipation Proclamation

THE HOUSE DIVIDED: LINCOLN'S EARLY VIEWS ON SLAVERY

A. Objectives

1. To analyze Lincoln's personal and political positions regarding slavery prior to 1860.

2. To assess the depths of Lincoln's aversion to slavery.

B. Lesson Activities (One Day)

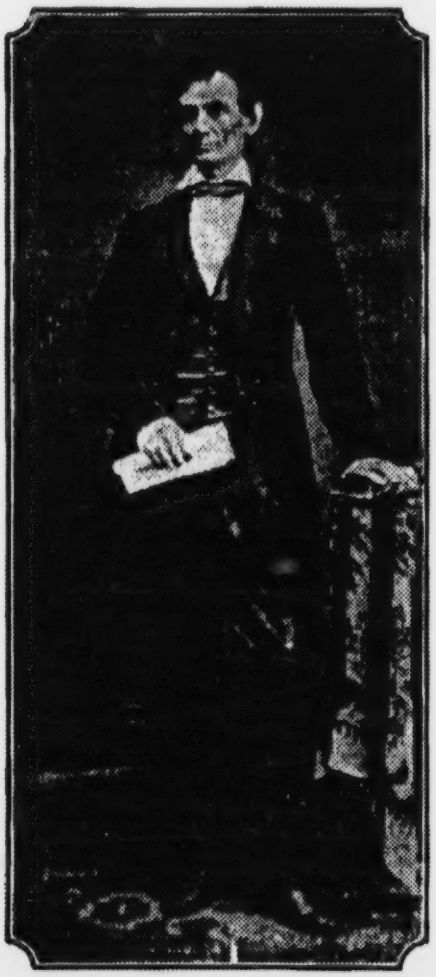
Reading 1:	Document A	Letter to Speed, 24 August 1855
	Document B	House Divided Speech, 16 June 1858
Reading 2:	Document A	On Slavery and Democracy, ca. 1858
	Document B	Letter to Brown, 18 October 1858

In groups of two or three, have students read and discuss the collection of primary sources labeled Readings 1 and 2. Next, ask each group to select either Reading 1 or 2 for primary focus, and to sketch and label the metaphor of a "house divided" in Reading 1 *or* create a chart comparing the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence (1776) with Lincoln's assertions in Reading 2. Have each group present their work either in small groups or in the large group debriefing. As part of that class discussion, consider such questions as:

Where did Lincoln's disdain for slavery originate?

What specifically about the institution of slavery did he oppose?

What, in his view, were the constitutional aspects of the issue?



DOCUMENT A
From a letter to Joshua F. Speed, 24 August 1855
(Primary Source)

Excerpts from Lincoln's response to a letter from a long-time friend (and slaveholder) revealed his views about the enslavement of African Americans.

> ***. . . You know I dislike slavery; . . . I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down, and caught, and carried back to their stripes, and unrewarded toils; but I bite my lip and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip, on a Steam Boat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border. It is hardly fair for you to assume, that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the constitution and the Union. . .***
>
> ***I do oppose the extension of slavery, because my judgment and feelings so prompt me; and I am under no obligation to the contrary. If for this you and I must differ, differ we must. . . .***
>
> *Library of America, vol. 1, pp. 360-63*

DOCUMENT B
"House Divided" Speech
Springfield, Illinois, 16 June 1858
(Primary Source)

The excerpts which follow are from a speech given by Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Illinois on the occasion of his selection as the Illinois State Republican Party's candidate for United States Senate.

> ***"A house divided against itself cannot stand."***
>
> ***I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.***
>
> ***I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.***
>
> ***It will become all one thing, or all the other.***
>
> ***Either the opponents of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.***
>
> *Library of America, vol. 1, pp. 426-34*

DOCUMENT A
"On Slavery and Democracy" 1858?
(Primary Source)

The undated statement below was found in Lincoln's papers in the approximate period of his preparation for the Lincoln-Douglas debates; it was not uncommon for him to jot down notes of the sort as a way of clarifying his views.

> ***As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.***
>
> *Library of America, vol. 1, p. 484*

DOCUMENT B
Letter to James N. Brown, 18 October 1858
(Primary Source)

Lincoln's views excerpted below are from a letter he wrote in response to queries from a man who had either witnessed or read reports about the Lincoln-Douglas debate series. The final debate had been concluded a few days previous to the date Lincoln penned his response.

> ***I do not perceive how I can express myself, more plainly, than I have done in the foregoing extracts. In four of them I have expressly disclaimed all intention to bring about social and political equality between the white and black races, and, in all the rest, I have done the same thing by clear implication. . . .***
>
> ***I have made it equally plain that I think the negro is included in the word "men" used in the Declaration of Independence.***
>
> ***I believe the declaration that "all men are created equal" is the great fundamental principle upon which our free institutions rest; that negro slavery is violative of that principle; . . . that by our frame of government, the States which have slavery are to retain it, or surrender it at their own pleasure; and that all others—individuals, free-states and national government—are constitutionally bound to leave them alone about it.***
>
> *Library of America, vol. 1, pp. 822-3*

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

A. Objectives:

1. To compare and contrast the attitudes of Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln regarding slavery.

2. To evaluate arguments presented in the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

3. To assess the consistency of Lincoln's stance on slavery and its extension into the territories.

During the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Stephen Douglas charged that Lincoln made a habit of changing his position to fit his audience. At the fourth debate at Charleston, September 1858 Douglas accused Lincoln of being "jet black" in northern Illinois, "mulatto" in center state, and "almost white" in the southern area known as "Little Egypt." Select one of the two versions of this lesson. Strategy A requires at least one day of research and available copies of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The alternate strategy is a one-day lesson using Readings 3-11. Both lessons begin with Reading 3, Douglas' charge that Lincoln's policy on slavery changed depending on the location of his speeches, and Reading 4, Lincoln's response during the Charleston and Galesburg debates.

B. Lesson Plan

Strategy A (Two to Three Days)

Divide the class into seven groups and have each group read and discuss Readings 3 and 4. Provide groups with a map of Illinois giving the location of the seven debates (Stu-

dent Handout 1). If Douglas' charges are accurate, how would you expect Lincoln's stand on slavery to differ in the seven debates? Encourage students to review text book or class room maps showing slave and free states on the eve of the Civil War.

Assign each group the task of reviewing a different debate. Ask students to skim Lincoln's presentation and rejoinder to determine his expressed position on slavery. Select one or two short quotations which exemplify Lincoln's position in that debate and present them to the class for discussion. Project the map of Illinois on an overhead and ask students to evaluate Douglas' charge. To what extent was Douglas correct in his assertion that Lincoln spoke with one voice in northern Illinois and another in the southern region of the state? Assess Lincoln's comments in the context of a mid-nineteenth century political campaign. What conclusions may be draw from reviewing the debates? Did Lincoln express firm convictions on the slavery issue? Were these consistent with speeches he made during the debates?

Strategy B (One Day Activity)

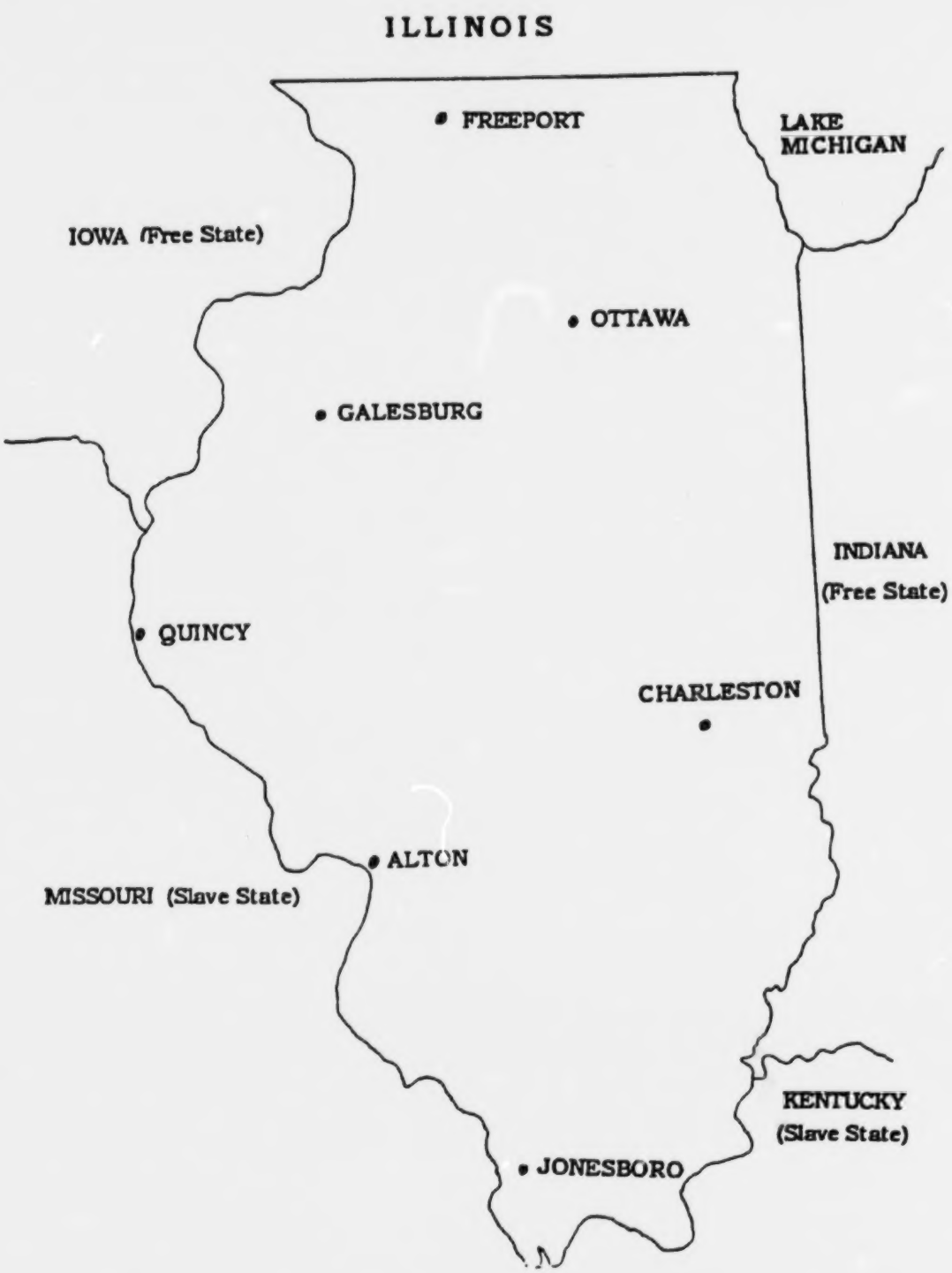
Divide the class into seven groups and have each group read and discuss Readings 3 and 4. Provide groups with a map of Illinois giving the location of the seven debates (Student Handout 1). If Douglas' charges are accurate, how would you expect Lincoln's stand on slavery to differ in the -seven debates? Encourage students to review text book or class room maps showing slave and free states on the eve of the Civil War.

As an alternative to reviewing each debate, provide groups with a reading containing excerpts from one of the debates (Readings 5-11). Have students discuss the document within

the group and report findings to the class. In lieu of general reports from groups, you may wish to use a jig-saw approach. After the class has the opportunity to hear excerpts from each of the debates, conduct a Socratic seminar evaluating the accuracy of Douglas' charge that Lincoln was not consistent in his stand on slavery and African Americans.

Debate Locations and Dates

Ottawa	21 August
Freeport	27 August
Jonesboro	15 September
Charleston	18 September
Galesburg	7 October
Quincy	13 October
Alton	15 October


ILLINOIS
FREEPORT
LAKE MICHIGAN
IOWA (Free State)
OTTAWA
GALESBURG
INDIANA
(Free State)
QUINCY
CHARLESTON
ALTON
MISSOURI (Slave State)
KENTUCKY
(Slave State)
JONESBORO

DOCUMENT A
Douglas' Accusations
Charleston, 18 September 1858
(Primary Source)

. . . Why, sir, if you will go to Waukegan, fifteen miles north of Chicago, you will find a paper with Lincoln's name at the head, and you will find it said at the head of it, this paper is devoted to the cause of Black Republicanism. I had a copy of it to carry with me down here into Egypt to let you see by what name they went up there. And their principles vary as much up there as they vary from the name down here. Their principles up there are jet black; when you get down into the centre they are a decent colored mulatto; when you get down into lower Egypt they are almost white. There were many white sentiments contained in Lincoln's speech down in Jonesboro, and I could not help contrasting them with the speeches of the same distinguished orator in the northern parts of the State. . . .

(The Lincoln-Douglas Debates: The First Complete Unexpurgated Text edited by Harold Holzer. New York: Harper Collins, 1993. pages 222-223; hereinafter cited as Debates)

Galesburg, 7 October 1858

. . . The first criticism that Mr. Lincoln makes on my speech is, that it is in substance what I have said everywhere else in the State, when I have addressed the people. I wish I could say the same of his speeches. The principal point of complaint I make of him is, that he makes one speech North and another South—one set of sentiments in the Abolition counties, and another set in those counties opposed to Abolitionism. The point of complaint is, that I cannot hold him to a common standard in the different portions of the State. . . .

. . . All I desire is that he will declare the same doctrine in the North that he does in the South, and wherever the Constitution rules. . . .

(Debates, pages 269-270)

DOCUMENT B
Lincoln's Response to Douglas' Accusations
Charleston, 18 September 1858
(Primary Source)

. . . Judge Douglas has told you that he heard my speeches north and my speeches south; that he had heard me at Ottawa and at Freeport in the north, and he had recently heard me at Jonesboro in the south, and that there was a very different character in the speeches made in the north and south. I will not charge upon the Judge that he willfully misrepresents me about that, but I call upon any right minded man to read those speeches, and I dare him to find any difference between the speeches. . . .

(Debates, *pages 226-227)*

Galesburg, 7 October 1858

. . . The Judge assumes—when he says that I made speeches of one sort for the North and of another sort for the South—he assumes that I do not understand that my speeches will be put in print. Now I have understood that the speeches that I made in Chicago, Jonesboro and at Charleston, would be put in print, and that all reading men might read them, and I have not at all supposed—I do not to-day suppose—that there is any conflict in them. . . .

(Debates, *pages 253-254)*

DOCUMENT C
Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Ottawa, 21 August 1858
(Primary Source)

Douglas' opening speech at Ottawa called attention to resolutions passed by the Illinois State Republican Convention. Douglas quoted Republican resolutions calling for the repeal of the fugitive slave law; the prohibition of the admission of new slave states; the exclusion of slavery from all territories; and the prohibition of slavery in Washington D.C. He continued by stating:

. . . Now, gentlemen, you have cheered – you Republicans have cheered every one of these propositions, and yet I venture to say that you cannot get Mr. Lincoln, your candidate, to come out and say that he is now for each one of them. That these propositions do one and all constitute the platform of the Black Republican party this day, I have no doubt, and . . . yet my object in reading them is to put the question to Abraham Lincoln this day, whether he now stands, and will stand by each article of that creed, and carry them out. . .

(Debates, page 49)

Lincoln's Response:

. . . If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia,—to their own native land, But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. . . . What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. . . .

(Debates, page 61)

. . . I will say here while I am upon this subject, I have no purpose directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no disposition to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together on terms of respect, social and political equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a superiority somewhere, I as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position; but I hold that because of all this there is no reason at all furnished why the negro after all is not entitled to all that the declaration of independence holds out, which is, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and I hold that he is as much entitled to that as the white man. I agree that the negro may not be my equal and Judge Douglas' equal in many respects—certainly not in color, and in intellectual development, perhaps—but in the right to the bread which his own hands earns, he is my own equal and Judge Douglas' equal, and the equal of every living man. . . .

(Debates, page 63)

DOCUMENT D
Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Freeport, 27 August 1858
(Primary Source)

Lincoln was the first to speak during the Freeport debate and directed some of his remarks to questions that had been raised at the Ottawa debate.

. . . (I)n regard to the fugitive slave law, I have never hesitated to say that I think, under the constitution of the United States the people of the southern states are entitled to a congressional fugitive slave law. I have always said that, I have nothing to say in regard to the existing slave law further than this, that I think it might have been framed to have been free from some of the objections that pertain to it without at all lessening its efficiency. But inasmuch as we are not in the midst of an agitation in regard to the modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as the subject of a new agitation upon the subject of slavery.

In regard to these other questions of whether I am pledged to the (non)admission of any more slave states in the Union, I state to you freely, frankly, that I should be exceedingly sorry to ever be put in the position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there never would be another slave state admitted into the union, but I must add in regard to this, that if slavery shall be kept out of the territory during the territorial existence of any one given territory, and then the people should, having a fair chance and clear field when they come to adopt a constitution, if they should do the extraordinary thing of adopting a slave constitution uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country but we must admit it into the union. . . .

. . . In relation to . . . (the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia) I have my mind very distinctly, whether correctly or not, made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in

the District of Columbia. I believe that congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it, yet as a member of congress I should not be in favor, with my present views of interfering, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it should be upon three conditions: lst. That the abolition should be gradual; in the second place, that it should be upon the vote of a majority of the qualified voters within the district; and lastly, with compensation to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess that I should be exceedingly glad to see congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from the national capital that foul blot upon our nation." (Debates, pp. 93-94)

Douglas' response:

. . . I am glad at last that I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political topics which I called to his attention at Ottawa. . . . I desired. . . to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and the only choice of his party, whether he concurred with his party in the platform which that party adopted for its government.

(Debates, page 104)

. . . A word or two in regard to Mr. Lincoln's answers. . . He says he was not pledged to the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. He was not pledged to it--doesn't quite like it--wouldn't introduce a law to repeal it--thinks there ought to be some law--didn't tell what it is, and upon the whole don't know what to do. That is the substance of his answer about the Fugitive Slave Law . . . . Why can't he speak out, and say what his is for, and what he will do? In regard to there being any more Slave States, he is not pledged on that. He wouldn't like to put himself in a position where he would have to vote either way. I pray you now, don't put him in a position to embarass him so much. But if he goes to the Senate, he may be put in that position, and I ask which way he would vote? Will he vote for or against the admission of a Slave State? . . . (Debates, page. 122)

DOCUMENT E
Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Jonesboro, 15 September 1858
(Primary Source)

Judge Douglas began the debate at Jonesboro:

> ***. . . We have risen from a weak, feeble power, till we have become the terror and the admiration of the civilized world, and all this had been done under a constitution which Mr. Lincoln says, in substance, is a violation of the law of God, and under a union divided into free and slave States, and Mr. Lincoln says because of such division the house cannot stand. Surely Mr. Lincoln is a wiser man than those who made the government. Washington did not believe, nor his compatriots, that the regulations, laws and domestic institutions which were adapted to the Green Mountains of Vermont were suited to the rice plantations of South Carolina. . . .***
>
> ***. . . I hold that this Government was made on the white basis; made by the white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men and none others. . . . I am aware that all the Abolition lecturers that you will find travelling about through the country are in the habit of proclaiming and reading the Declaration of Independence, to prove that all men were created equal . . . . Mr. Lincoln is much in the habit of . . . reading that portion of the Declaration of Indepencence to prove that the negro was endowed by the Almighty with the inalienable right of equality with white men. Now, I state to you, my fellow citizens, in my opinion the Signers of the Declaration of Independence had no reference whatever to the negro, when they declared all men to have been created equal. . . .*** *(Debates, pp. 150-151)*

Lincoln's Response:

> ***Ladies and Gentlemen—There are very many of the principles that Judge Douglas has stated that I most cordially approve, and there***

need be no controversy over them. In so far as Judge Douglas has insisted that all the States of the Union have a right to do exactly as they please about all their domestic regulations and institutions, including the question of slavery, I agree with Judge Douglas, and yet he places me wrong in spite of all that I can tell him. Again and again I have expressed my views upon this subject—I have made a great many speeches, some of which have been printed, and I state without hesitation, that it will be utterly impossible to read anything that I have ever put in print that will show anything to the contrary. I hold myself under the obligation to allow the people of other States—and to allow all the States to do as they please. I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them even if there were no constitutional obstruction, and I say again that it is wrong to say that I entertain opinions other than these.

While I am upon this subject I will briefly answer some of the propositions that Judge Douglas has put forth. He says why cannot this Union endure permanently, half slave and half free. I have said I supposed it could not, and I will now, before this candid audience, try to give briefly some reasons for entertaining that opinion. Another form of this question is, why can we not let them stand as our fathers placed them. Therein consists the exact difference between us. I say that Judge Douglas and his friends have changed the policy from the way in which our fathers originally placed it. I say the way in which our fathers left this subject of slavery was in the course of ultimate extinction. ...I say that when our government was first established it was the policy of the government to prohibit the spread or extension of slavery into the territories of the United States where it did not then exist. I say that Judge Douglas and his friends have changed that policy, and place it where it shall spread until it becomes alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new. North as well as South. All that I have asked is that it should be put back on the basis that our fathers originally placed it on, and I have had no sort of doubt that it would there be extinguished in God's own time, if we could restrict it to the States where it exists, and prohibit it in the territories... (Debates, *pp. 156-157)*

DOCUMENT F
Lincoln-Douglas Debates
Charleston, 18 September 1858
(Primary Source)

Lincoln opened the debate at Charleston:

> ***. . . I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races, that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters of the negroes, or jurors, or qualifying them to hold office, or having them to marry with white people. I will say in addition, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I suppose, will forever forbid the two races living together upon terms of social and political equality, and inasmuch, as they cannot so live, that while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, that I as much as any other man am in favor of the superior position being assigned to the white man. I say in this connection, that I do not perceive, however, that because the white man is to have the superior position, that it requires that the negro should be denied everything. I do not perceive because I do not court a negro woman for a wife, that I must necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just leave her alone. . . .***
>
> *(Debates, page 189)*

Speaking on the Kansas issue, Lincoln stated:

> ***. . . I say there is no way to put an end to slavery agitation among us, but to put it back on the basis that our fathers put it on, restricting it to the Old States and prohibiting it in the territories, thus the public mind being in the belief that it is the course of ultimate extinction.***
>
> ***. . . I do not mean to say that when it takes a turn toward ultimate***

extinction, that is to come in a day or a year, nor do I suppose that it could be brought to ultimate extinction in less than a hundred years, it would be carried on as is best for the white and the black in God's own good time I have no doubt. . . . *(Debates, page 228)*

Douglas Responded:

. . . Mr. Lincoln simply contented himself in the outset by saying that he was not in favor of social and political equality between the white and the negro; nor did he desire to have the law changed so as to make them voters or eligible to office. I am glad to have got an answer from him on that proposition, to wit: the right of suffrage and holding office by negroes, for I have been trying to get him to answer that point during the whole time that the canvass has been going on. *(Debates, page 204)*

. . . Mr. Lincoln knows that when we were at Freeport . . . there was a distinguished colored gentleman there, who made a speech that night and the night after, a short distance from Freeport, in favor of Lincoln, and showing how much interest his colored brethren felt in the success of their brother, Abraham Lincoln. I have with me now, what I could read if necessary, a speech made by Fred. Douglass in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., to a large convention, in which he called upon all who were friends of negro equality and negro citizenship to rally as one man around Abraham Lincoln, as the chief embodiment of their principles, and by all means to defeat Stephen A. Douglas. . . . *(Debates, page 218)*

DOCUMENT G
Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Galesburg, 7 October 1858
(Primary Source)

Judge Douglas opened the Galesburg debate:

> ***. . . I say to you frankly that in my opinion this Government was made by our fathers on the white basis. It was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and was intended to be administered in all time to come by white men. But while I hold that under our Constitution and political system the negro is not a citizen-cannot be a citizen-ought not to be a citizen--yet it don't follow by any means that he should be a slave. . . . Humanity requires, Christianity commands that you shall extend to every . . . dependent race all the privileges, all the immunities and all the advantages which can be granted to him consistent with the safety of society. Again you ask me what is the nature and extent of these rights and privileges. My answer to that question is this: It is a question which the people of each state must decide for themselves. Illinois has decided that question for herself. We have said that in this State the negro shall not be a slave, nor shall he be a citizen. Kentucy holds a different doctrine, New York holds one different from either. . . . There are hardly two States whose policy is precisely alike in regard to the relation of the white man and the negro. You cannot reconcile them and make them alike. Each must do as it pleases. . . . The great principle of this government is that each State has a right to do as it pleases on all these questions, and that no other power on earth has a right to interfere with us or complain of us merely because our system differs from theirs. . . .***
>
> *(Debates, page 248)*

Lincoln's response:

. . . I suppose that the real difference between Judge Douglas and his friends, on the one side, and the Republicans on the other hand is, that the Judge is not in favor of making any difference between slavery and liberty, that he is in favor of eradicating, he is in favor of pressing out of view, and out of existence, all preference for free over slave institutions, and, consequently, every sentiment that he utters, discards the idea that he is against slavery, every sentiment that emanates from him discards the idea that there is any wrong in slavery. Every though that he utters will be seen to exclude the thought that there is anything wrong in slavery. You will take his speeches and get the short pointed sentiments expressed by him, that he does not care if slavery is voted up, or voted down, and such like, you will see at once it is a perfectly logical idea if you admit that slavery is not wrong, but if it is wrong, Judge Douglas cannot say that he don't care for a wrong being voted up. Judge Douglas declares that if any community wants slavery they can have it. He can logically say that, if he admits that there is no wrong in it, but he cannot say that, if he admits that there is wrong in it! . . . I believe that slavery is wrong, and in a policy springing from that belief that looks to the prevention of the enlargement of that wrong, and that looks at some time to there being an end of that wrong. The other sentiment is, that it is no wrong, and the policy springing from it that there is no wrong in its becoming bigger, and that there never will be an end of it. There is the difference between Judge Douglas and his friends and the Republican party.

I confess myself as belonging to that class in the country that believes slavery to be a moral and political wrong. I feel, having regard to all constitutional guards thrown around it, that I do nevertheless desire a policy that shall prevent the enlargement of it. I do look to that point of time when it shall come to an end. . . .

(Debates, pp. 257-258)

DOCUMENT H
Lincoln-Douglas Debates
Quincy, 13 October 1858
(Primary Source)

Lincoln opened the debate at Quincy by responding to Douglas' accusations of inconsistencies in his speeches. Lincoln quoted from an earlier speech:

> ***". . . [T]his is the true complexion of all that I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it, and anything that argues me into this idea of perfect, social, and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words by which a man can prove a horse chesnut [sic., chestnut] to be a chesnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose directly or indirectly [to] interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon a footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas, he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral and intellectual endowment; but in the right to eat the bread without leave of anybody else, which his own hands earns, he is my equal, and equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."***
>
> ***I have chiefly introduced this for the purpose of meeting the Judge's***

charge, that the quotations he took from my Charleston speech was what I would say down south among Kentuckians, Virginians, and so on, and what I would not say to an audience where there was supposed to be more of the Abolition element. I now make this comment on it! That that speech which I have read from now, that speech was made away up north—was made in the Abolition district of this State par excellence—... the like of which Judge Douglas thinks I would not make in the north.

In addition, I have but to say, that I am unconscious of double dealing any where. I believe, leaving many things unsaid—that I have but on one occasion said any thing which has seemed to be inconsistent, I deny it, at least so far as the intention has gone....

(Debates, pp. 284-285)

Douglas prodded Lincoln in his rebuttal:

... He won't give an answer on that question, for up North, the Abolition creed provides that there shall be no more slave states. Down South, in Adams, in Coles, in Sangamon, he and his friends are afraid of that doctrine; hence an answer is given evasive, equivocal, to be construed one way in the North and another way in the South.... But, my friends, Mr. Lincoln complains that in my speech the other day at Galesburg, I read an extract from his speech at Chicago and then another from his speech at Charleston, and compare them, and showed that he had one set of principles in one part of the State and another set in the other part of the State. How does he answer that change? Why, he quotes his Charleston speech as I quoted it, and then quotes another one made at another place, which he says is the same thing, but he does not quote tha Chicago speech by which I convicted him of that double dealing.... Now, up in Chicago, at the opening of the campaign, he replied to my reception speech, in which he undertook to answer my arguments against negro equality. I had gone on to show that it was a falsification of the Declaration of Independence to pretend that it applied to the equality of the negroes, when it said that "all men are created equal."

What was Mr. Lincoln's reply? I read one from his Chicago speech--the one which he didn't quote—the one which he dare not quote in this part of the State. He said:

> *"I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean a German? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us go buy the statute book in which we find it and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true, let us tear it out."*

There you find Lincoln told the Abolitionists of Chicago, that if the Declaration of Independence was not true, in saying that the negro was created by the Almighty the equal of the white man, then we ought to take and tear it out. . . .

(Debates, *pages 298-299)*

DOCUMENT I
Lincoln-Douglas Debates
Alton, 15 October 1858
(Primary Source)

Judge Douglas opened the last debate at Alton, mocking Lincoln's House Divided Speech given in Springfiled, 16 June 1858:

> ***. . . Only imagine for a moment that Lincoln had been . . . a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and when they were about to sign that immortal document, he had arisen in that Convention, as he did at Springfield this summer, and addressing himself to the President had said, "a house divided against itself cannot stand—this government divided into free and slave states cannot endure—they must all be free or they must all be slave—they must all be the one thing, or all be the other; otherwise it is a violation of the law of God, and they cannot endure." Suppose Lincoln had convinced that body of sages that that doctrine was sound, what would have been the result, remembering that the Union was composed of thirteen states, twelve of which were slaveholding and one was free? Do you think that one free state would have out-voted the twelve slaveholding states, and thus have abolished slavery everywhere? On the other hand, would not the twelve slaveholding states have outvoted the one free state, and thus have fastened slavery by a constitutional provision on every foot of the American republic forever?***
>
> (Debates, page 328)

At Alton, Lincoln paraphrases what he had said two days earlier during the Quincy debate.

> ***. . . There has been no issue between Judge Douglas and I on the point of my wanting to make war between the free and slave States. . . . There has been no issue between Judge Douglas and I on the ground of my wanting to introduce a perfect social and political***

equality between the white and colored races. These are false issues that Judge Douglas has all the while tried to force this controversy upon without foundation. The real issue in this controversy, I think, springs from a sentiment in the mind, and that sentiment is this: on the one part it looks upon the institution of slavery as being wrong, and on the part of another class, it does not look upon it as wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery as being wrong, is the sentiment of the Republican party, it is the sentiment around which all their actions and all their arguments circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon slavery as a moral, social, and political wrong, and while they contemplate it as being such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us and the difficulties of getting rid of it in the States, and for the constitutional obligations thrown around it; nevertheless, they do desire to see a policy instituted that looks to the thing not growing any larger; they insist upon a policy that shall treat it as a wrong and as the mildest policy to that end they look to the prevention of its growing larger, and to that end of it eventually. All their sentiments, arguments and propositions, are brought within this range. Now I have said, and I repeat it here, if there be any man among us who does not think that the institution of slavery is a wrong . . . he is misplaced, and ought not to be among us; and, if there be a man who is so impatient of it as a wrong, as to disregard the difficulties of getting rid of it, or as to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown around it, that man too is misplaced; we disclaim sympathy with him in political action; he is not placed properly with us.

By the way, on this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. I have asked the question indirectly, what has ever threatened our own liberties and prosperity save and except this very institution of slavery? If this be true, how do you propose to amend it? By spreading it out larger, or making it bigger? You may have a cancer upon your person, and you may not be able to cut it out at once, lest you bleed to death, but you may not

treat it as a wrong by spreading it over your whole body. So with this, the way is—is the peaceful mode to deal with it—to prevent the spread of it into new country. That is the old fashioned way of dealing with it, the example of which our fathers have set us.

(Debates, pp. 356-357)

THE LINCOLN ADMINISTRATION AND THE EVOLUTION OF A POLICY ABOLISHING SLAVERY

A. Objectives:

1. To understand the historical context of the Lincoln administration's policy regarding slavery.

2. To analyze the political factors which led to the 13th Amendment.

B. Lesson Plan (1 to 2 days)

Provide the class with a copy of Reading 12. Have students, working within groups, read and discuss the evolution of a policy of full and complete emancipation. Groups should respond to such questions as:

To what degree did Lincoln's policy reflect his personal attitudes toward slavery?

What factors may explain the apparent inconsistency?

To what extent was Lincoln bound by the Constitution to protect slavery where it existed?

What impact did the border states have on Lincoln's position on emancipation?

How did Lincoln's interpretation of the Constitution empower him to abolish slavery as Commander-in-Chief?

How did Lincoln move from his pledge expressed in the First Inaugural to the call for passage of the 13th Amendment?

Distribute Reading 13, excerpts from Lincoln's message to Congress, 1 December 1862. To what extent does the presidential message sum up Lincoln's intellectual "journey to emancipation?"

Discuss the finding of each group through a general class activity or debate the proposition: Resolved, President Lincoln was restrained by the Constitution and fortunes of war from advancing a policy of full and complete emancipation.

Alternative Lesson Plan (2 to 3 days)

Have students research Lincoln's presidential speeches and proclamations regarding slavery and present dramatic readings to the class. Set the context for each of the presentations and evaluate changes or inconsistencies in Lincoln's policy. You may wish to use the time line (Reading 12) as a guide for student research.

DOCUMENT A
Time Line: President Lincoln and the Evolution of a Policy Abolishing Slavery

4 March 1861 *Lincoln's First Inaugural Address*	". . . I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. . . ."
30 July 1861 *General Butler's "contraband" letter to the Secretary of War*	". . . No longer under the ownership of any kind, the fearful relicts of fugitive masters, have they not by their masters' acts, and the state of war, assumed the condition, which we hold to be the nor mal one, of those made in God's image? . . . If not free born, yet free, manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them never to be reclaimed. . . ."
6 August 1861 *Congressional Confiscation Act*	Congress authorizes the confiscation of slaves used "in aid of the rebellion." The Congressional act did not emancipate, but authorized confiscation of slaves that had worked constructing military fortifications, on naval vessels, or serving the Confederate military in any manner.
30 August 1861 *General Frémont's Proclamation of martial law*	". . . Real and personal property of those who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared confiscated to public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men. . . ."

2 September 1861
Lincoln writes to Frémont regarding emancipation of slaves

". . . I think there is great danger . . . in relation to the confiscation of property, and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends, and turn them against us —perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me to ask, that you will as of your own motion, modify that paragraph. . ."

11 September 1861
Lincoln orders Frémont to change his policy

". . . Your answer, just received, expressed the preference on your part, that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. . . ."

6 March 1862
Lincoln's message to Congress recommending compensated emancipation

"Resolved, That the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system"

16 April 1862
Lincoln's Message to Congress regarding emancipation in Washington, D.C.

". . . I have never doubted the constitutional authority of congress to abolish slavery in this District; and I have ever desired to see the national capital freed from the institution in some satisfactory way. . . . I am gratified that the two principles of compensation, and colonization, are both recognized, and particularly applied in the act. . . ."

9 May 1862
General Hunter's Proclamation of Military Emancipation

". . . Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible; the persons in these three States—Georgia, Florida and South Carolina-held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free."

19 May 1862 ***Lincoln revokes Hunter's proclamation***	"... Neither General Hunter, nor any other commander . . . has been authorized by the General Government of the United States to make proclamations declaring the slaves of any State free; and that the supposed proclamation, now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void . . ."
12 July 1862 ***Lincoln's appeal to the border states for compensated emancipation and colonization***	"... How much better for you . . . to take the step which, at once, shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event. . . . I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization, can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance; and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go. . . ."
17 July 1862 ***2nd. Confiscation Act***	Act of Congress declaring all slaves of persons engaged in rebellion who crossed over to Union lines to be "forever free"
22 July 1862 ***Preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation***	Lincoln presents a preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet. Secretary Seward advised the president to refrain from a formal announcement until winning a military victory in order to avoid the perception that emancipation was a desperate act, "... the last shriek on our retreat."
14 August 1862 ***Lincoln's colonization address to African American residents***	"Perhaps you have long been free, or all your lives. Your race are suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with

the white race. . . . Go where you are treated best. . .The place I am thinking about have for a colony is in Central America. . . . The country is a very excellent one for any people . . .

22 August 1862
Lincoln's letter to Horace Greeley

". . . If there are those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *save* Slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* Slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy Slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it; and if I could save it be freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about Slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union . . ."

1 December 1862
Lincoln's message to Congress on compensated emancipation

". . . I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States: . . . Every State wherein slavery now exists which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the 1st day of January, A.D. 1900, shall receive compensation from the United States."

1 January 1863
Emancipation Proclamation

"Whereas on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following to wit: 'That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward,

	and forever free' . . ."
8 April 1864 ***13th Amendment***	United States Senate approves the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery with more than the two-thirds vote required for passage
6 December 1864 ***Lincoln's message to Congress***	". . . At the last session of Congress a proposed amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of representatives. . . . I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session. . . ."
31 January 1865 ***13th Amendment***	The House of Representatives passes the 13th Amendment by the bare two-thirds margin required by the Constitution.
1 February 1865 ***Lincoln's remarks to a gathering celebrating the passage of the 13th Amendment***	". . . The occasion was one of congratulation to the country and the whole world. But there is a task yet before us—to go forward and consummate by the votes of the States that which Congress so nobly began yesterday. . ."
18 December 1865 ***ratification of the 13th Amendment***	Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress hall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

DOCUMENT A

Annual Message to Congress, 1 December 1862

(Primary Source)

...The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We—even we here — hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave , we assure freedom to the free — honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless.

(Library of America, vol. 2, page 415)

EMANCIPATION AND AFRICAN AMERICAN TROOPS

A. Objectives

1. To define Lincoln's views about slavery and sectional tensions in the year 1860.

2. To analyze the evolution of policies leading toward the emancipation of enslaved African Americans

3. To explain the decision to use African American troops, as well as the reaction to the policies.

B. Lesson Plan (2-3 Days)

Group A

Document 1:	Cooper Union Address, 27 February 1860
Document 2:	Letter to Stephens, 22 December 1860

Group B

Document 3:	Letter to Frémont, 2 September 1861
Document 4:	Letter to Hunter, 9 September 1861
Document 5:	Letter to Frémont, 11 September 1861
Document 6:	Letter to Browning, 22 September 1861
Document 7:	Letters to Curtis, 7 and 24 October 1861
Document 8:	Proclamation Revoking General Hunter's Emancipation Order, 19 May 1862

Group C

Document 9:	Letter to Greeley, 22 August 1862
Document 10:	Letter to Hunter, 1 April 1863
Document 11:	Letter to Conkling, 26 August 1863
Document 12:	Letter to Hodges, 4 April 1864
Document 13:	Letter to Robinson, 17 August 1864
Document 14:	Second Inaugural Address, 4 March 1865

Distribute the documents in Group A to each student to read silently. Have each underline or highlight the sentences which seem to best capture Lincoln's ideas about slavery. Discuss the subject and tone of the documents. What are the particular political issues Lincoln raises? How do his views in early 1860 compare with those late in the year, after he has already won the presidency?

Divide students into groups of five or six and distribute one collection of Group B documents to each group. Have each student become the expert on a single document for their group by using their text to analyze the people and events referred to in the document. Have each group discuss, debrief, and make a rough time-line or calendar charting the documents in chronological order to follow the historical progression of events. Lead the class in a full-class discussion. What issues, in Frémont's proclamation of 30 August 1861, seemed to most distress Lincoln? Is there evidence contained in the documents which revealed Lincoln's concerns over Frémont's leadership? In his letter to Browning, how does Lincoln distinguish between *political* and *military* law, or necessity? What does Lincoln decide to do about Frémont? How do we know? What irony is contained in Document 8?

Distribute one copy of Group C documents to each collection of 3, 4, or 5 students for a silent read-around. Have them quietly read, ponder, and exchange each document in order. Next, distribute a stapled packet of documents 9, 10, 11, and 13 *or* 11, 12, and 14 to each individual student to use as source materials for an essay on the topic of Lincoln's decision making about the issues of emancipation and the use of African American troops. What are "the events" which Lincoln refers to in Document 12 that "have plainly controlled me?"

DOCUMENT 1
From Lincoln's Cooper Union Address
27 February 1860

...If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced, and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality—its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension—its enlargement. All they ask, we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask, they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but, thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government nor of dungeons to ourselves. LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT, AND IN THAT FAITH, LET US, TO THE END, DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT.

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 129-30)

DOCUMENT 2
Lincoln to Senator Alexander H. Stephens
22 December 1860

For your own eye only.

Hon. A. H. Stephens— *Springfield, Ills.*
My dear Sir *Dec. 22, 1860*

Your obliging answer to my short note is just received, and for which please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me.

Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly, or indirectly, interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves? It they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears.

The South would be in no more danger in this respect, that it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us. Yours very truly

(Library of America,vol.2, p. 194)

DOCUMENT 3
Letter to John C. Frémont
2 September 1861

My dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 30th give me some anxiety. First, should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best man in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is therefore my order that you allow no man to be shot, under the proclamation, without first having my approbation or consent.

Secondly, I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property, and the liberating slaves of traiterous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends, and turn them against us—perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me therefore to ask, that you will as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the act of Congress, entitled, "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," approved August, 6th, 1861, and a copy of which act I herewith send you. This letter is written in a spirit of caution and not of censure.

(Library of America,vol. 2, pp. 266-7)

DOCUMENT 4
Letter to David Hunter
9 September 1861

My dear Sir: Gen. Frémont needs assistance which it is difficult to give him. He is losing the confidence of men near him, whose support any man in his position must have to be successful. His cardinal mistake is that he isolates himself, & allows nobody to see him; and by which he does not know what is going on in the very matter he is dealing with. He needs to have, by his side, a man of large experience. Will you not, for me, take that place? Your rank is one grade too high to be ordered to it; but will you not serve the country, and oblige me, by taking it voluntarily?

(Library of America, vol. 2, p. 267)

DOCUMENT 5
Letter to John C. Frémont
11 September 1861

Sir: Yours of the 8th. in answer to mine of 2nd. Inst. is just received. Assuming that you, upon the ground, could better judge the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30th. I perceived no general objection to it. The particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable, in it's non-conformity to the Act of Congress passed the 6th. of last August upon the same subjects; and hence I wrote you expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part, that I should make an open order for the modification, which I cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed, as to conform to, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress . . .

(Library of America, vol. 2, p. 267-8).

DOCUMENT 6
Letter to Orville H. Browning
22 September 1861

Private & confidential.

Hon. O. H. Browning
My dear Sir

Executive Mansion
Washington Sept 22d 1861.

Yours of the 17th is just received; and coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my adhering to a law, which you had assisted in making, and presenting to me, less than a month before, is odd enough. But this is a very small part. Genl. Fremont's proclamation, as to confiscation of property, and the liberation of slaves, is purely political, and not within the range of military law, or necessity. If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner, for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever; and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them, and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question, is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do anything he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure I have no doubt would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility. You speak of it as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary it is itself the

surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the U.S.—any government of Constitution and laws,—wherein a General, or a President, may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?...

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky Legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and Gen. Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of Gen. Fremont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our Volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured, as to think it probable, that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capitol. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election, and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly.

You must not understand I took my course on the proclamation because of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to General Fremont before I heard from Kentucky.

You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid Gen. Fremont to shoot men under the proclamation. I understand that part to be within military law; but I also think, and so privately wrote Gen. Fremont, that it is impolitic in this, that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I did not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

There has been no thought of removing Gen. Fremont on any ground connected with his proclamation; and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend Sam. Glover can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground.

Suppose you write to Hurlbut and get him to resign. Your friend as ever. . .

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 268-70)

DOCUMENT 7
Letters to Samuel R. Curtis
7 October and 24 October 1861

7 October 1861

My dear Sir:

Without prejudice, and looking to nothing but justice, and the public interest, I am greatly perplexed about Gen: Fremont: In your position, you can not but have a correct judgment in the case; and I beseech you to answer Gen. Cameron, when he hands your this, "Ought Gen: Fremont to be relieved from, or retained in his present command?" It shall be entirely confidential; but you can perceive how indispensable it is to justice & the public service, that I should have, an intelligent unprejudiced, and judicious opinion from some professional Military man on the spot, to assist me in the case.

(Library of America, vol. 2, p. 271-2)

24 October 1861

Dear Sir On receipt of this, with the accompanying inclosures, you will take safe, certain, and suitable measures to have the inclosure addressed to Major General Fremont, delivered to him, with all reasonable despatch—subject to these conditions only, that if, when Gen. Fremont shall be reached by the messenger (yourself, or any one sent by you) he shall then have, in personal command, fought and won a battle, or shall then be actually in a battle, or shall then be in the immediate presence of the enemy, in expectation of a battle, it is not to be delivered, but held for future orders. After, and not till after, the delivery to Gen. Fremont, let the inclosure addressed to Gen. Hunter be delivered to him.

(Library of America, vol. 2, p. 272)

DOCUMENT 8
Proclamation Revoking General Hunter's Emancipation Order
19 May 1862

President Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation of 19 May 1862

...I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, proclaim and declare, that the government of the United States, had no knowledge, information, or belief, of an intention on the part of General Hunter to issue such a proclamation; nor has it yet, any authentic information that the document is genuine. And further, that neither General Hunter, nor any other commander, or person, has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make proclamations declaring the slaves of any State free; and that the supposed proclamation, now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void, so far as respects such declaration.

I further make known that whether it be competent for me, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to declare the Slaves of any state or states, free, and whether at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government, to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I can not feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field. These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies and camps.

On the sixth day of March last, by a special message, I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution to be substantially as follows:

Resolved, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by

such change of system.

The resolution, in the language above quoted, was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress, and now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the nation to the States and people most immediately interested in the subject matter. To the people of those states I now earnestly appeal. I do not argue. I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves. You can not if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partizan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the pharisee. The change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has been done, by one effort, in all past time, as, in the providence of God, it is now your high previlege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it.

...I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed....

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
By the President: William H. Seward, Secretary of State

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 318-19)

DOCUMENT 9
Letter to Horace Greeley
22 August 1862

. . . As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing" as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored; the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intent no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men every where could be free. Yours,

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 358)

DOCUMENT 10
Lincoln to General David Hunter 1 April 1863

Private

Executive Mansion
Washington D.C. April 1. 1863.

Major General Hunter

My dear Sir: I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such a force shall not take shape, and grow, and thrive, in the South; and in precisely the same proportion, it is important to us that it shall. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them; and we should do the same to preserve and increase them. Yours truly

(Library of America, vol. 2, p. 443)

DOCUMENT 11
Lincoln to James C. Conkling
26 August 1863

. . . [T]o be plain, you are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not. . . .

You dislike the emancipation proclamation; and, perhaps, you would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional—I think differently. I think the constitution invests its commander-in-chief, with the law of war, in time of war. . . .

But the proclamation, as law, either is valid, or it is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is valid, it can not be retracted, any more than the dead can be brought to life. . . .

The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us, since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy, and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion; and that, at least one of those important successes, could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism, or with republican party politics; but who hold them purely as military opinions. . . .

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but, no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be

an apt time, then, for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to so as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do, in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do any thing for us, if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept. . . .

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that, among free men, there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet; and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case, and pay the cost. And then, there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on this great consummation; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it.

Still let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result. Yours very truly

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 495-99)

DOCUMENT 12
Letter to Albert G. Hodges
4 April 1864

My dear Sir: You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day, in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel. And yet I never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand however, that my oath to preserve the constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government—that nation—of which that constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation, and yet preserve the constitution? By general law life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution, through the preservation of the nation. Right of wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the constitution, if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution

all together. When, early in the war, Gen. Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, Gen. Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, Gen. Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March, and May, and July 1862 I made earnest, and successive appeals to the border states to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation, and the arming of the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it, the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force,—no loss by it any how or any where. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no cavilling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

"And now let any Union man who complains of the measure, test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he can not face his case so stated, it is only because he can not face the truth."

I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have con-

trolled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised, or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 585-86)

DOCUMENT 13
Letter to Charles D. Robinson
17 August 1864

Hon. Charles D. Robinson *Executive Mansion,*
My dear Sir: *Washington, August 17, 1864.*

Your letter of the 7th. was placed in my hand yesterday by Gov. Randall.

To me it seems plain that saying re-union and abandonment of slavery would be considered, if offered, is not saying that nothing else or less would be considered, if offered. But I will not stand upon the mere construction of language. It is true, as you remind me, that in the Greeley letter of 1862, I said: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some, and leaving others alone I would also do that." I continued in the same letter as follows: "What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause." All this I said in the utmost sincerety; and I am as true to the whole of it now, as when I first said it. When I afterwards proclaimed emancipation, and employed colored soldiers, I only followed the declaration just quoted from the Greeley letter that "I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause" The way these measures were to help the cause, was not to be by magic, or miracles, but by inducing the colored people to come bodily over from the rebel side to ours. On this point, nearly a year ago, in a letter to Mr. Conkling, made public at once, I wrote as follows: "But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest

motive—even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept." I am sure you will not, on due reflection, say that the promise being made, must be broken at the first opportunity. I am sure you would not desire me to say, or to leave an inference, that I am ready, whenever convenient, to join in re-enslaving those who shall have served us in consideration of our promise. As matter of morals, could such treachery be any possibility, escape the curses of Heaven, or of any good man? As matter of policy, to announce such a purpose, would ruin the Union cause itself. All recruiting of colored men would instantly cease, and all colored men now in our service, would instantly desert us. And rightfully too. Why should they give their lives for us, with full notice of our purpose to betray them? Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give, and promise us, and neither the present, nor any coming administration, can save the Union. Take from us, and give to the enemy, the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us a soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we can not longer maintain the contest. The party who could elect a President on a War & Slavery Restoration platform, would, of necessity, lose the colored force; and that force being lost, would be as powerless to save the Union as to do any other impossible thing. It is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured, and estimated as horse-power, and steampower, are measured and estimated. And by measurement, it is more than we can lose, and live. Nor can we, by discarding it, get a white force in place of it. There is a witness in every white mans bosom that he would rather go to the war having the negro to help him, than to help the enemy against him. It is not the giving of one class for another. It is simply giving a large force to the enemy, for nothing in return.

In addition to what I have said, allow me to remind you that no one, having control of the rebel armies, or, in fact, having any influence whatever in the rebellion, has offered, or intimated a willingness to, a restoration of the Union, in any event, or on any condition

whatever. Let it be constantly borne in mind that no such offer has been made or intimated. Shall we be weak enough to allow the enemy to distract us with an abstract question which he himself refuses to present as a practical one? In the Conkling letter before mentioned, I said: "Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time <u>then</u> to declare that you will not fight to free negroes." I repeat it now. If Jefferson Davis wishes, for himself, or for the benefit of his friends at the North, to know what I would do if he were to offer peace and re-union, saying nothing about slavery, let him try me.

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 620-22)

DOCUMENT 14
Second Inaugural Address
4 March 1865

Fellow-Countrymen:
At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. . . .

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil-war. All dreaded it-all sought to avert it. While the inaugeral address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers

of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! For it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope– fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether"

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan–to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

(Library of America, vol. 2, pp. 686-87)

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF LINCOLN AND HIS POSITION ON SLAVERY

A. Objectives:

1. To analyze contemporary arguments supporting and opposing Lincoln's policies regarding slavery.

2. To understand the variance of contemporary views and the intense debate over emancipation and the use of African American troops during the Civil War.

B. Lesson Plan (2 days)

Divide the class into seven groups and have each read and discuss the set of assigned documents. Ask students to analyze the readings to determine bias. You may wish to have students use the Document Analysis Worksheet (Student Handout 2). During the course of the group discussion, students should determine the context of the document, and connect it to historical events. The following general questions may be used to focus discussion within groups:

Why was the document written? Who was the intended audience?

What was the frame of reference of the author of the document?

Does the document reflect a bias? What evidence suggests bias?

Are there references to specific historical events? How does the author view this (these) event(s)?

What can be discerned from the document to help explain popular views or attitudes during the period?

What is the author's view of Abraham Lincoln? Is this view consistent with the appraisal of Lincoln by contemporary historians?

Have each group synthesize the documents in a report to the class. Culminate the lesson with a written appraisal of the Lincoln administration's policy on slavery. In lieu of a written essay, you may wish to have students, working within assigned groups, develop a journal or newspaper examining Lincoln's policy regarding slavery. Encourage students to use contemporary political cartoons and caricatures and/or create cartoons and broadsides to illustrate the work.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1. Type of Document: (check one)

_____ Journal	_____ Legislative Resolution
_____ Letter	_____ Newspaper Editorial
_____ Speech	_____ Congressional Record
_____ Telegram	_____ Memorandum
_____ Other (specify type)	_____

2. Date of the Document: _____

3. Author (or creator) of the document: _____

4. For what audience was the document written?: _____

5. Document information:

   A. List important pieces of information presented in the document.

   _____

   _____

   B. Why was the document written?

   _____

   _____

   C. What evidence in the document helped you to determine why it was written? (Quote from the document if appropriate.)

   _____

   _____

D. List two things the document tells us about the United States at the time it was written.

_____

_____

E. Write a question to the author which is left unanswered by the document.

_____

_____

_____

This worksheet is an adaptation of one designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408.

DOCUMENT 1

December 1861

Harriet Tubman, who had helped hundreds of slaves escape to freedom, relates her view of President Lincoln

God won't let Massa Linkum beat de South till he do de right ting. Massa Linkum he great man, and I'se poor nigger; but dis nigger can tell Massa Linkum how to save de money and de young men. He do it by setting de niggers free. S'pose dar was awfu' big snake down dar, on de floor. He bite you. Folks all skeered, cause you die. You send for doctor to cut de bite; but snake he rolled up dar, and while doctor dwine it, he bite you agin. De doctor cut out dat bite; but while he dwine it, de snake he spring up and bite you agin, and so he keep dwine, till you kill him. Dat's what Massa Linkum orter know.

(Letters of Lydia Maria Child, p. 161, as cited in McPherson, The Negro's Civil War, *p. 43)*

Transcription in modern English:

God won't let Mr. Lincoln beat the South until he does the right thing. Mr. Lincoln is a great man, and I am a poor Negro; but this Negro can tell Mr. Lincoln how to save money and the lives of young men. He can do it by setting the Negroes free. Suppose there was an awfully big snake down on the floor. It bites you. Folks are all scared because you may die. You send for a doctor to cut the bite; but the snake, still coiled up on the floor, bites you again while the doctor treats the first bite. The doctor cuts out that bite; but while he is doing it, the snake springs up and bites you again, and so keeps biting you until you kill the snake. That is what Mr. Lincoln ought to know.

DOCUMENT 2
23 January 1862

John S. Rock, A prominent African American physician and attorney from Boston, spoke before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery society:

. . . It is not my desire, neither is it the time for me, to criticize the government, even if I had the disposition so to do. . . .While Mr. Lincoln has been more conservative that I had hoped to find him. I recognize in him an honest man, striving to redeem the country from the degradation and shame into which Mr. Buchanan and his predecessors have plunged it.

. . . Now it seems to me that a blind man can see that the present war is an effort to nationalize, perpetuate, and extend slavery in this country. In short, slavery is the cause of the war: I might say, is the war itself. Had it nor been for slavery, we should have had no war!
. . .

. . . I do not regard this trying hour as a dark one. The war that has been waged on us for more than two centuries has opened our eyes and caused us to form alliances, so that instead of acting on the defensive, we are now prepared to attack the enemy. . . .This rebellion for slavery means something! Out of it emancipation must spring. I do not agree with those men who see no hope in this war. There is nothing in it but hope. Our cause is onward. As it is with the sun, the clouds often obstruct his vision, but in the end we find there has been no standing still. It is true the government is but little more antislavery now than it was as the commencement of the war; but while fighting for its own existence, it has been obliged to take slavery by the throat and, sooner or later, <u>must</u> choke her to death.

(<u>Annals of America</u>, Volume 9, page 318)

DOCUMENT 1
September 1862

Frederick Douglass reacting to Lincoln's speech to African American residents of Washington, D.C.

The President of the United States seems to possess an ever increasing passion for making himself appear silly and ridiculous, if nothing worse.... [H]e has been... characteristically foggy, remarkably illogical and untimely in his utterances, often saying that which nobody wanted to hear, and studiously leaving unsaid about the only things which the country and the times imperatively demand of him.... Mr. Lincoln assumes the language and arguments of an itinerant Colonization lecturer, showing all his inconsistencies, his pride of race and blood, his contempt for negroes and his canting hypocrisy.... The argument of Mr. Lincoln is that the difference between the white and black races renders it impossible for them to live together in the same country without detriment to both. Colonization therefore, he holds to be the duty and the interest of the colored people. Mr. Lincoln takes care in urging his colonization scheme to furnish a weapon to all the ignorant and base, who need only the countenance of men in authority to commit all kinds of violence and outrage upon the colored people of the country. Taking advantage of his position and of the prevailing prejudice against them he affirms that their presence in the country is the real first cause of the war, and logically enough, if the premises were sound, assumes the necessity of their removal.

It does not require any great amount of skill to point out the fallacy and expose the unfairness of the assumption, for by this time every man who has an ounce of brain in his head—no matter to which party he may belong, and even Mr. Lincoln himself must know quite well that the mere presence of the colored race never could have provoked this horrid and desolating rebellion....

The tone of frankness and benevolence which he assumes in his speech

to the colored committee is too thin a mask not to be seen through. The genuine spark of humanity is missing in it, no sincere wish to improve the condition of the oppressed has dictated it. It expresses merely the desire to get rid of them, and reminds one of the politeness with which a man might try to bow out of his house some troublesome creditor or the witness of some old guilt.

(Douglass' Monthly, September 1862, pp. 707-708, as cited in Zilversmit, Lincoln on Black and White: A Documentary History, pp. 100-103.)

DOCUMENT 2
October 1862

Frederick Douglass, who had opposed Lincoln's ambivalence to the slavery issue, cheered the Emancipation Proclamation despite its failure to free all slaves.

Common sense, the necessities of the war, to say nothing of the dictates of justice and humanity have at last prevailed. We shout for joy that we live to record this righteous decree. ... 'Free forever' oh! long enslaved millions, whose cries have so vexed the air and sky, suffer on a few more days in sorrow, the hour of your deliverance draws nigh! oh! ye millions of free and loyal men who have earnestly sought to free your bleeding country from the dreadful ravages of revolution and anarchy, lift up now your voices with joy and thanksgiving for with freedom to the slave will come peace and safety to your country. President Lincoln has embraced in this proclamation the law of Congress passed more than six months ago, prohibiting the employment of any part of the army and naval forces of the United States, to return fugitive slaves to their masters commanded all officers of the army and navy to respect and obey its provisions. He has still further declared his intention to urge upon the Legislature of all the slave States not in rebellion the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery. But read the proclamation for it

is the most important of any to which the President of the United States has ever signed his name.

The careful, and we think, the slothful deliberation which he has observed in reaching this obvious policy, is a guarantee against retraction. . . . To recall his proclamation would only increase rebel pride, rebel sense of power and would be hailed as a direct admission of weakness on the part of the Federal Government, while it would cause heaviness of heart and depression of national enthusiasm all over the loyal North and West. No, Abraham Lincoln, will take no step backward. His word has gone out over the country and the world, giving joy and gladness to the friends of freedom and progress wherever those words are read, and he will stand by them, and carry them out to the letter. . . .

(Douglass' Monthly, October 1862, p. 72, as cited in Zilversmit, Lincoln on Black and White: A Documentary History, pp.116-117.)

DOCUMENT 1
8 October 1862

Louisville Journal editorial on the Emancipation Proclamation reprinted in the National Intelligencer, Washington, D.C.

It is evidently an arbitrary act of the President as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the Union. In short, it is a naked stroke of military necessity.

. . . The measure is wholly unauthorized and wholly pernicious. Though it cannot be executed in fact, and though its execution probably will never be seriously attempted, its moral influence will be decided, and purely hurtful. . . . It is a gigantic usurpation, unrelieved by the promise of a solitary advantage, however minute and faint, but on the contrary aggravated by the menace of great and unmixed evil.

Kentucky cannot and will not acquiesce in this measure. Never! As little will she allow it to chill her devotion to the cause thus cruelly imperilled anew. The Government our fathers framed is one thing, and a thing above price; Abraham Lincoln, the temporary occupant of the Executive chair, is another thing and a thing of comparatively little worth. The one is an individual, the sands of whose official existence are running fast, and who, when his official existence shall end, will be no more or less than any other individual. The other is a grand political structure, in which is contained the treasures and the energies of civilization . . . centre the eager hopes of all mankind. What Abraham Lincoln, as President, does or fails to do may exalt or lower our estimate of himself, but not of the great and beneficient Government of which he is but the temporary servant. The temple is not the less sacred and precious because the priest lays an unlawful sacrifice upon the altar. The loyalty of Kentucky is not to be shaken by any mad act of the President. If necessary she will resist the act, and aid in holding the actor to a just and lawful account-

ability but she will never lift her own hand against the glorious fabric because he has blindly or criminally smitten it. She cannot be so false to herself as this. She is incapable of such guilt and folly.

(Source: National Intelligencer, Washington, October 8, 1862, as cited in Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait, edited by Herbert Mitgang, p. 313)

DOCUMENT 2
24 September 1862

Illinois State Journal, Springfield, Illinois

President Lincoln has at last hurled against rebellion the bolt which he has so long held suspended. The act is the most important and the most memorable of his official career—no event in the history of this country since the Declaration of Independence itself has excited so profound attention either at home or abroad.

While its justice is indisputable, we may well suppose that the step has been taken reluctantly. A people waging a causeless and unholy war against a mild and just Government have forfeited the right to protection by that Government. No principle is clearer. Yet the President has repeatedly warned the people of the rebellious States to return to their allegiance without effect. He now employs the power with which Congress and the Constitution have clothed him. There can be but one opinion among all true friends of the country. The President must and will be sustained. That extremists will condemn—one class because emancipation is not immediate and unconditional: the other because it is proclaimed even prospectively, is to be expected. But those who refuse to support the Government in the exercise of its necessary and just authority are traitors and should be so treated, whatever name they may wear. True patriots of every name rally around the President, determined that the Union shall be preserved and the laws enforced.

(Illinois State Journal, September 24, 1862 as cited in Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait, edited by Herbert Mitgang, p. 306)

DOCUMENT 1
7 February 1863

A meeting of African Americans in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, adopted the following resolutions

***Resolved**, That we, the colored citizens of the city of Harrisburg, hail the 1st day of January, 1863, as a new era in our country's history—a day in which injustice and oppression were forced to flee and cower before the benign principles of justice and righteousness.. . .*

***Resolved**, That if our wishes had been consulted we would have preferred that the proclamation should have been general instead of partial; but we can only say to our brethren of the 'Border States,' be of good cheer—the day of your deliverance draweth nigh—do not act contrary to the rules of propriety and good citizenship, for the rod of your oppressors will eventually be smitten by the omnipotence of truth—the 'ark' of liberty will yet dwell within your borders and rest within your gates—the fires of freedom shall light your hill tops, and your valleys shall be made vocal with the songs of liberty. . . .*

***Resolved**, That we are well aware that freedom and citizenship are attended with responsibilities; and that the success or failure of the proclamation depend entirely upon ourselves, as public sentiment will be influenced for or against that righteous decree, by our correct deportment and moral standing in this community.*

***Resolved**, That although the proclamation was not made as an act of philanthropy, or as a great deed of justice due to those suffering in bonds, but simply as a war measure, still in it we recognize the hand of God; and for it we are constrained to say, roll forward the day when the American soil shall no more be polluted with that crime against God, American slavery; but all will be able to say, 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will to man'.*

(Christian Recorder, February 7, 1863 as cited in McPherson, The Negro's Civil War, pp. 51-52)

DOCUMENT 2
7 January 1863

Resolution of the Illinois State Legislature. Democrats controlled the Illinois state legislature and the state was a Copperhead stronghold. Meeting in Springfield, Lincoln's home, the state legislature adopted the following resolution:

> ***Resolved: That the emancipation proclamation of the President of the United States is as unwarrantable in military as in civil law; a gigantic usurpation, at once converting the war, professedly commenced by the administration for the vindication of the authority of the constitution, into the crusade for the sudden, unconditional and violent liberation of 3,000,000 negro slaves; a result which would not only be a total subversion of the Federal Union but a revolution in the social organization of the Southern States, the immediate and remote, the present and far-reaching consequences of which to both races cannot be contemplated without the most dismal foreboding of horror and dismay. The proclamation invites servile insurrection as an element in this emancipation crusade—a means of warfare, the inhumanity and diabolism of which are without example in civilized warfare, and which we denounce, and which the civilized world will denounce, as an uneffaceable disgrace to the American people.***

(Illinois State Register, January 7, 1863, as cited in Commager and Cantor, Documents of American History, Vol. 1, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988, pages 421-422.)

DOCUMENT 1
5 December 1863

An article in Harper's Weekly two weeks following the Gettysburg Address.

The solemn ceremony at Gettysburg is one of the most striking events of the war. There are grave-yards enough in the land—what is Virginia but a cemetery?—and the brave who have died for us in this fierce war consecrate the soil from the ocean to the Mississippi. But there is peculiar significance in the field of Gettysburg, for there 'thus far' was thundered to the rebellion. This it is which separates it from all the other battlefields of this war. Elsewhere the men in the ranks have fought as nobly, and their officers have directed as bravely; but here their valor stayed the flood of barbarism, and like the precious shells that the highest storm-tides strew upon the beach, showing how far the waters came, so the dead heroes of Gettysburg marked the highest of the war. Therefore shall their graves be peculiarly honored, and their memory especially sacred; and solemnity and significance to hallow their resting-place shall not be wanting.

The President and the Cabinet were there, with famous soldiers and civilians. The oration by Mr. Everett was smooth and cold. Delivered, doubtless, with his accustomed graces, it yet wanted one stirring thought, one vivid picture, one thrilling appeal.

The few words of the President were from the heart to the heart. They can not be read, even without kindling emotion. 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.' It was as simple and felicitous and earnest a word as was ever spoken. . . .

Harper's Weekly, Volume 7 (5 December 1863), page 770.

DOCUMENT 2
November 1863

Editorial in the Chicago Times attacking Lincoln's Gettysburg address claiming it is in conflict with the Constitution. The Times accused Lincoln of "Dawdleism" or diddling and trifling with the dead. The editor of the Times was a "Copperhead" and the paper had been shut down by order of General Burnside only to reinstated by President Lincoln the following day. The wording of the included passage of the Gettysburg Address is erroneous.

It is not supposed by any one, we believe, that Mr. Lincoln is possessed of much polish in manners or conversation. . . .

The introduction of Dawdleism in a funeral sermon is an innovation upon established conventionalities. . . Common sense, then, should have taught Mr. Lincoln that its intrusion upon such an occasion was an offensive exhibition of boorishness and vulgarity. An Indian in eulogizing the memories of warriors who had fallen in battle would avoid allusion to differences in the tribe which had no connection with the prevailing circumstances, and which he knew would excite unnecessary the bitter prejudices of his hearers. Is Mr. Lincoln less refined than a savage?

But aside from the ignorant rudeness manifest in the President's exhibition of Dawdleism at Gettysburg,—and which was an insult at least to the memories of a part of the dead, whom he was there professedly to honor,—in its misstatement of the cause for which they died, it was a perversion of history so flagrant that the most extended charity cannot regard it as otherwise than willful. That, if we do him injustice, our readers may make the needed correction, we append a portion of his eulogy on the dead at Gettysburg:

> ***Four score and ten years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a nation consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any other nation so consecrated***

and so dedicated can long endure.

As a refutation of this statement, we copy certain clauses in the Federal constitution:

> *Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included in the Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.*
>
> *The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.*
>
> *No amendment to the constitution, made prior to 1808, shall affect the preceding clause.*
>
> *No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*

Do these provisions in the constitution dedicate the nation to 'the proposition that all men are created equal'? Mr. Lincoln occupies his present position by virtue of this constitution, and is sworn to the maintenance and enforcement of these provisions. It was to uphold this constitution, and the Union created by it, that our officers and soldiers gave their lives at Gettysburg. How dared he, then, standing on their graves, misstate the cause for which they died,

and libel the statesmen who founded the government? They were men possessing too much self-respect to declare that negroes were their equals, or were entitled to equal privileges.

(Chicago Times, November 23, 1863, as cited in Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait, edited by Herbert Mitgang, pp. 359-361)

DOCUMENT 1
10 January 1864

Editorial entitled "Mr. Lincoln's Treachery" in the New York Daily News. Benjamin Wood, a Democratic Congressman from New York, owned and edited the paper.

The masses, generally, are slow to reflect upon their actual political condition. Absorbed in the occupations that yield them subsistence, they have often no leisure, and oftener no inclination to study the gradual changes that are being wrought in their system of government. . . .

When Mr. Lincoln commenced his official career as the Federal Executive, he was particularly careful to avoid startling the masses with the shadow of the coming policy. To have given even an intimation of the Abolition-disunion purpose that has since been developed would then have aroused a popular resistance that would have been fatal to the realization of the scheme. . . .

Yet this Executive, who now proclaims that no Southerner shall enjoy the elective franchise except upon taking an oath to vote for the destruction of slavery, and who designs, according to the interpretation of his adherents, to include the negroes of the South in that one-tenth of the population to whom the right of suffrage is confined, asserted at his inauguration that he had 'no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery,' and believed that he had 'no lawful authority to do so.' What change has been made in the Constitution that now gives him the authority which he then disavowed? What power abrogated that 'implied constitutional law,' which he then admitted forbade Federal interference with slavery? This is the explanation: Mr. Lincoln in the first place appreciated the necessity of deceiving the people, because then he was unsupported in despotism by armies drilled into perfect subordination to his will. He deceived them by protesting his innocence of Abolition purposes; he deceived them by quoting the true

spirit of the Constitution, and afterwards acting in direct opposition to his own interpretation; he deceived them by luring them to arms with the battle cry of Union, and having reduced some half million of them to the condition of automatons by the restraints of military discipline, he renounces the old battle cry and boldly unfurls the flag of Abolitionism.

Meanwhile, while their kindred perish to serve the purpose of fanaticism, the masses of the North are witnessing the transformation of their Government to an absolutism. Their liberties vanish, their rights are ignored; the weapons bequeathed to them to keep tyranny aloof are snatched from their hands and turned against them; the ballot box itself, intended for their protection, is made the instrument of their destruction. Therefore, we say, the masses are slow to reflect upon their actual political condition; or ere this they would have understood their peril, and have interposed the shield of popular moral resistance, without awaiting to be goaded to the sterner remedy of revolution.

(New York Daily News, January 10, 1864, as citied in Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait, edited by Herbert Mitgang, pp. 369-371)

DOCUMENT 2
5 March 1864

Editorial in Harper's Weekly supporting Lincoln's re-election.

. . . Elected as a Republican, known as the author of the saying in reference to slavery and freedom in this country, 'A house divided against itself can not stand,' . . . Mr. Lincoln knew that whatever might be the love of the Union—and even that was to be proved—the hate of abolitionism was practically universal. His object was, it must have been, to have a party to sustain the Government, and that party must be, so far as practicable, the undivided North. . . . Had the President said on 15 April 1861, 'Slavery has attacked the Union, slavery is abolished,' the suspicious jealousy of the Opposition would have burst into full cry: 'Their! we knew it. He takes advantage of a riot in South Carolina to overthrow the Union and plunge us into civil war.' But the President said, simply, 'The Union and Government must be maintained by force;' and the country, with its party-split paralyzed, cried, 'Amen!'

The President knew, what every thinking man knew, that the terrible light of war would illuminate the whole question of its origin and scope. He knew that every gun and rifle and pistol was a more persuasive anti-slavery orator than had ever been heard; that every drop of the blood of sons and brothers and friends would wash clear a thousand eyes that had been blinded, and that before long public opinion would justify and demand measures which some men then saw to be inevitable, but for which the country was not yet ready. Therefore, when General Frémont, one of those men, issued this order, the President said, 'No, not yet. The policy must be general when it is adopted, and I must be the judge of the time and the way.' So to General Hunter he said in substance: 'I do not deny that it may become necessary to do what you have done, but I am the person to order it.' There were many faithful men who, when they head his words, said sadly, 'He does not understand the case, and we are

lost.' ...You think the people were ready. He thought they were not. And observe that now, more than two years afterward, the Senate of the United States, almost purged of secessionists, can not make up its mind to pay colored soldiers, who have most bravely fought for the flag, the wages which the Government expressly agreed to pay them. Do you suppose they would debate the point a quarter of an hour if the soldiers were white? The President can not rightfully do what he honestly thinks the people ought to wish, but what he honestly thinks they do wish, because only what the do wish will stand....

From the beginning of his term the President has evidently been persuaded that this was a people's war: that, if the people were wise and brave enough, they would save the Union and the Government; and if they were not, then that no leader could or ought to save them. Twenty months ago he was without a party. The Copperheads hated him; the 'Conservative Republicans' thought him too fast; the 'Radical Republicans' thought him too slow; the War Democrats were looking for the chance of a return to political power. He held steadily upon his way. As he thought the country ready he took each advancing step. He issued the preparatory proclamation. He followed it with the New Year's decree. . . . [E]very letter he wrote, every speech he made, brought him nearer to the popular heart; so that now it is a little too late to call him 'well-meaning,' 'incompetent,' 'a mere joker,' because it is the general conviction that he is no man's puppet; that he listens respectfully to his Cabinet and then acts from his own convictions; that by his calm and cheerful temperament, by his shrewd insight, his practical sagacity, his undaunted patience, his profound faith in the people and their cause, he is peculiarly fitted for his solemn and responsible office. Nor is it likely that the people who elected him when he was comparatively unknown will discard him because, in the fierce light of war which tries every quality and exposes every defect, he has steadily grown in popular love and confidence.

(Harper's Weekly, March 6, 1864)

DOCUMENT 1
15 February 1864

Editorial in the Copperhead New York Daily News charging Lincoln's reconstruction plan was a ploy to win a second term.

By whom and when was Abraham Lincoln made dictator in this country? . . .

Pretermitting all other arbitrary acts, we have now to do with one, than which none more high-handed, despotical and atrocious can be found in the history of usurpers. . . .

President Lincoln is in great haste now to make 'loyal' States of these erring sisters, and to 'restore the Union.' Having been unable to effect it by force of arms and proclamations, during three years..., the President is now getting up a trick of political hocus-pocus, by which, in the course of a few months, he hopes to make those now 'rebellious' States seem to march in file harmoniously with these 'loyal' States, exhibiting . . . the charming spectacle of a 'restored Union.' He therefore 'proclaims, declares, and makes known' that whenever in any of those now 'rebellious' States a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such States at the Presidential election of 1860, and having taken a certain 'oath' prescribed, and not having violated it &c., and 'excluding all others,' shall re-establish a State Government which shall be Republican. . . . The farce!

. . . President Lincoln means to be a candidate for re-election; and he hopes that the Electoral Colleges in those thus-to-be-recovered and thus-to-be-'loyal' States will, out of pure gratitude to him who has treated them so kindly these three years, aided by such military and functionary influence as perhaps he may be able to bring to bear upon them, cast their votes unanimously for him, and thus assure his re-election.

We say to President Lincoln that if he counts to foist himself in this manner upon the country for a second term he will be grievously disappointed. The people see through this game, and will not permit it to be played. If he should venture, on the 4th of March, 1865, to reseat himself in the Presidential chair by virtue of an election secured by such shallow trick, we tell him plainly he cannot succeed. There will either be forcible resistance, or, as his first and legal election caused secession South, his second illegal election will cause secession North and West, and break this Union. The North and West have borne much; but they would not stand such impudent jugglery.

(New York Daily News, February 15, 1864, as cited in Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait, edited by Herbert Mitgang, pp. 379-381)

DOCUMENT 2
28 September 1864

Editorial in the Chicago Tribune calling for Lincoln's re-election

The spectacle of our reunited country, resuming its onward march to material prosperity and empire, after the interruption caused by the war, with the Union maintained, the Government disenthralled and regenerated, and Slavery, the sole cause of dissension, obliterated, dedicating our whole land to freedom and our whole people to enlightenment, civilization and christianity, without a stain on our flag, or a foe to our unity, is one well calculated to fill our hearts with hope, and to reconcile us to the fierce ordeal through which we are passing. . . .

For a hundred years to come historians will be engaged in placing in their true light the events which are now transpiring. What wonder that many of the present day do not rightly comprehend a march of events which will form a study for future ages. . . For a century to come military skill will consist in a knowledge of the changes in military science now being wrought: Republican statesmanship will consist in a thorough acquaintance with the principles of government now being contended for and settled in battle. . . . While the present age looks at it mainly as a struggle for Union and nationality, the future will regard as equally important what we regard as but an incident, viz: the regeneration of the Republic and the vindication of true democracy and the rights of labor, by the abolition of slavery. Not willingly, even for a future or a fame so glorious, would the people of the free North have entered upon the present contest. But driven into it reluctantly, and accepting so great an issue as the total abolition of American slavery, only when such a policy offered our last best hope of success, we may still look through the stormy present into the near and bright future, borrowing of the provision which there awaits us. These hopes sustain us. We are living in times that try men's souls. Half a century hence to have lived in

this age will be fame. To have served it well will be immortality. Think of this, and when you cast your vote in November, vote for the unity of the republic, for the rights of man and for the only candidates who represent them—Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

(Chicago Tribune, September 28, 1864, as cited in Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait, edited by Herbert Mitgang, pp. 413-415)

EXTENSION LESSON

A. Lesson Plan (One Day)

Reproduce copies of David Gilmour Blythe's *Abraham Lincoln Writing the Emancipation Proclamation* (1863) and Adalbert Johann Volck's *Writing the Emancipation Proclamation* (c. 1862). Ask students to analyze each artist's work. Refer to Student Handout 3 for artwork samples.

Describe the action taking place in the illustration.

List the objects (books, maps, paintings, etc.) that are visible in each work. Why did the artist include these objects? How do they help set the tone of the work?

What symbols are used in each work? What does each symbol mean?

Explain the feelings are attitudes the artist was attempting to relate.

How does the use of objects and symbols illustrate bias in each of the two art works?

B. Suggested Follow-up Activities:

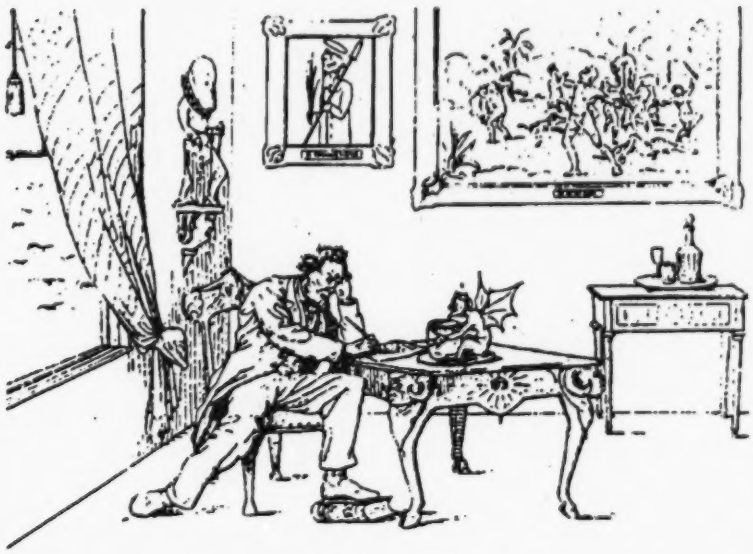
Based on the information in one of the two works, write a short essay evaluating the Emancipation Proclamation from the artist's point of view.

Make photocopies of several other art works which depict Lincoln and examine the artist's intent in each of the selected works.

Using a specific work of art, write a short essay describing the impact of art in molding public opinion.

The Blythe painting includes objects such as:

Presidential Oath (on the wall behind Lincoln); Map of Europe (on the extreme right of the canvas); Maps of South Carolina and "Reble" States (on the floor in the foreground); Numerous petitions from individuals (Wendell Phillips) and church groups (Plymouth Church); Bible and United States Constitution (on Lincoln's lap)



The Volck etching includes objects such as:

Devil's inkstand; wall portrait of John Brown labeled St. Osawatomie; wall painting entitled St. Domingo (depicting the results of a slave uprising); the United States Constitution under Lincoln's foot; a statue of liberty with the head of a baboon; liquor decanter; table with rams heads, evil-eye, and legs with cloven feet; chair with ram's head; vulture's head as a drapery tie-back; birds of prey flying outside window

Improved Resolution Images Pending

Bruins, Roger. Abraham Lincoln (Chelsea House World Leader Series). New York: Chelsea House, 1986.
An easy-reading biography, which may be recommended for students. It provides a basic insight into Lincoln's private and public life.

Current, Richard Nelson. Speaking of Abraham Lincoln: The Man and His Meaning for Our Times.
Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

This short study is a collection of speeches by the author, a noted Lincoln scholar. The text provides a good evaluative account of historical views of Lincoln and includes a fine appraisal of "The Great Emancipator's" views on slavery.

Don E. Fehrenbacher, Editor. Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings.
New York: Library of America, 1989.

The indispensable two-volume collection of Lincoln's speeches, letters, debates, presidential proclamations, and miscellaneous writing from 1832 to 1865.

Freedman, Russell. Lincoln: A Photobiography.
New York: Clarion Books, 1987.

This well-illustrated biography was a Newberry Prize-winning work for upper elementary and middle school students. Freedman provides a compelling look at Lincoln and his contemporaries in this exceptional work.

Harold Holzer, Editor. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates: The First Complete Unexpurgated Text.
New York: Harper Collins, 1993.

The most authentic transcription of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. Many previous editions of the debates were based on newspaper accounts which changed remarks to "improve" their candidate's image. Holzer's work is based on unedited texts and is regarded as the best available text of the seven debates.

Kunhardt, Philip B., Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt. Lincoln: An Illustrated Biography.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

The companion volume to the ABC documentary on Lincoln. This is a superb collection of Lincolnian material from America's foremost family of Lincoln scholars.

McPherson, James. Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era.
New York: Ballantine Books, 1988.

This highly engaging Pulitzer Prize-winning work is a vivid account of the Civil War. Battle Cry of Freedom is particularly strong on Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass.

McPherson, James. The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union.
New York: Ballantine Books, 1991.

McPherson's work is a careful study of the role of African Americans in the Civil War. This exceptional study provides a human insight into the era by incorporating the letters, diaries, and journals of African American participants in the conflict.

Neely, Mark E., Jr. The Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America.
Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Neely's work is the companion volume to The Huntington Library exhibit of the same name. This is an engaging one-volune study which incorporates the latest research and historical interpretations of Lincoln.

Oates, Stephen B. Abraham Lincoln: The Man Behind the Myths. New York: New American Library, 1985.

The author evaluates historical accounts and changing attitudes towards Lincoln. Oates explores the many dimensions of Lincoln's character in an eloquent style which makes for effortless reading. This is an exceptional historiographical study recommended for teacher background reading.

Oates, Stephen B. With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln. New York: Mentor Books, 1978.

With Malice Towards None is a comprehensive biography which explores Lincoln's life from the poverty of his youth through his executive leadership during the Civil War. Oates is an exceptional writer; the work reads with the ease of a novel.

Thomas, Benjamin J. Abraham Lincoln: A Biography.
New York: The Modern Library, 1968.

This classic work is a well-written and carefully researched account of Lincoln's life. First published in 1952, it is still regarded as one of the best single-volume biographies of Lincoln.

Zall, P. M., Editor. Abe Lincoln Laughing: Humorous Anecdotes from Original Sources by and about Abraham Lincoln.
Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

A collection of 300 anecdotes which provides an insight into Lincoln's sense of humor. The editor provides information relating to different versions of the stories attributed to Lincoln. The anecdotes are arranged chronologically rather than by subject.